

BL@CK FLAG

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Third Annual Clothing Giveaway a Big Success

Dec 25th, 2012—The F@@’s 3rd annual Christmas Day Clothing Giveaway was the most successful so far. With help from friends, comrades, and allies, we handed out at least 1,000 pieces of warm clothing, around 80 hot breakfast burritos, dozens of cups of hot coffee, and other goodies to the poor and dispossessed of Skid Row Los Angeles. The special efforts of the Young Communist League (YCL) this year—including throwing a donation-raising party and reaching out to Ovarian Psycos Cycles and Food Not Bombs—were instrumental in making this year’s event a big success. Special thanks go out to all three groups, as well as to the Freedom Socialist Party (FSP), Radical Women, and all the other collectives and individuals that helped to make this event such a success. The F@@ is proud to continue organizing this event as a model of charity, mutual aid, and non-sectarian cooperation among radical dissenters. We are interested in expanding the event to more dates throughout the year. If you are interested in any of these efforts, or in donating to the next drive, please email us at faacollective@gmail.com for more information.



Project Quinn

By Mayely

There she was, dying in our arms. We had just paid a devastating amount of money. “She’ll be fine after you pay,” he said, but of course, she wasn’t. We had saved her from the shelter, raised her since a baby, and there she was, dead in our hands.

Who was to blame? Was it us, with our lack of knowledge? Was it the Vet, who didn’t tell of us of the more expensive procedure because he decided it was just too expensive? Was it the shelter that allowed us to bring home cats and dogs that may have had some sort of virus?



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A Letter from the Black FI@g Editors:

US and Them, or What Anarchists Should Be Doing in 2013

“The Matrix is a system, Neo, and that system is our enemy. But when you are inside and you look around, what do you see? Businessmen, teachers, lawyers, carpenters. The very minds of the people we are trying to save. But until we do, these people are still a part of that system and that makes them our enemy... You have to understand: most of these people are not ready to be unplugged, and many of them are so inured, so hopelessly dependent on the system, that they will fight to protect it.”



—Morpheus, played by Laurence Fishburne, in *The Matrix*.

“When the government feels sad for the killing of 3,000 on Sept. 11, we also should feel sorry that the U.S. government ... has killed millions of people.... Your blood is not made of gold and ours is made of water. We are all human beings.”—Accused 9/11 plotter Khalid Sheikh Mohammed

On January 15th, NPR news reported that the popularity of the French President Francois Hollande jumped dramatically after he ordered a military intervention against supposed Islamist rebels in Mali. His role as commander-in-chief during the bombing raids in Mali has been lauded as similar to Barack Obama’s popularity-boosting leadership during the assassination of alleged Al Qaeda mastermind Osama Bin Laden. As one pleased French citizen reported regarding Hollande, “he really seems to be leading the action now and not in the background. The Mali intervention reaffirmed him as head of state. It’s a lot more popular than his gay marriage bill.” To anyone with anti-war sentiments, or anyone familiar with the bloody history of imperial and neo-imperial Western attacks on third-world societies from at least the 15th-century to the present day (as heroically chronicled by dissident writers like Noam Chomsky, James Loewen, Howard Zinn, Michael Parenti, Ward Churchill and William Blum, to name a few), it may seem dismaying that large swaths of the population of modern Western societies still look to their leader to be a macho strongman who is willing to order the requisite number of military assaults on the comparatively defenseless people of the Global South (and, conversely, can be so dismissive of a progressive push to legalize gay marriage). But so it goes. The public perception of Obama, Hollande, and countless other leaders around the world illustrates the sad absence of true critical thought among millions of people around the world. “Leaders” such as these often act in direct contravention to the interests of the vast majority of the populace, but still, almost inexplicably, receive votes, donations, and moral sanction from millions of hoodwinked supporters. Similar “voting against one’s interests” is obvious in the anti-tax position of the roughly 20% of Americans who said that they support the Tea Party movement in 2011 Gallup polls; they hold that increasing taxes on the wealthiest Americans to fund social services would stifle the economy, ignoring the fact that corporate compensation has skyrocketed to historically unprecedented levels in the last decade, while average workers’ salaries have been stagnant since the early 1970s (and public coffers have been looted by corporate-sponsored, laissez-faire policies).

Another salient example is the recent hysteria around gun control. Universal background checks, to name one issue, would not have stopped Virginia Tech shooter Seung-Hui Cho, who passed the legally-required background checks in his state, or Sandy Hook shooter Adam Lanza, who borrowed his mother’s guns to slaughter innocents—yet even progressive media outlets like Democracy Now have featured speakers singing the praises of such supposedly preventative measures (Anonymous has put out an informative response to Obama’s gun-control proposal <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GqjS3f4gxCQ>). Very few Americans, even on the so-called Left, are willing to challenge the litany of anti-gun polemics.

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Nonetheless, limiting access to weapons, ammunition, and high-capacity magazines will not prevent ruthless lunatics from acquiring guns or killing people. In fact, ruthless lunatics in drug cartels and police departments, undeterred by legislation, do so all the time. It will, however, ensure that the populace of our increasingly Orwellian quasi-police-state (think the militarizing of police forces, NDAA 2012, the PATRIOT Act, etc.) will be completely unarmed and defenseless.

We should not, however, completely blame the victims. After all, most of the world's people are subjected to a continuous barrage of mendacious and distracting media noise, along with a progressively-more-corporate education system flooded with Big Business-produced textbooks and authoritarian, corporate-university-produced educators. The working class is brainwashed and divided by the subtle and not-so-subtle insinuation of racism, patriarchy, heterosexism, and hierarchy that dribbles non-stop through all the corporate and state-sponsored channels: radio, TV, print media, and, increasingly, the web. And there remain serious legal and social consequences for disobedience, including ostracization, unemployment, imprisonment, and even death (depending on your longitude and latitude). No wonder, then, that most people would prefer to keep their heads down, or even willfully convince themselves of the righteousness of the status quo.

At the end of the day, though, capitalism and the state, poverty and prisons, pollution and imperialism, and all the myriad other elements of the culture of hierarchy and illegitimate authority are only possible because of the consent, explicit or implied, of the billions of oppressed/repressed masses around the world. If this consent is withdrawn, the whole edifice of authoritarian oppression will collapse. Thus, Anarchism—"a body of political thought that seeks to abolish and challenge rigid hierarchies (like the State), rethink and dismantle capitalist ideological structures, disrupt modes of forced coercion, build a society based on communist aspirations, free people's desires from historically oppressive social norms, and create organic and communal societies based on mutual aid and social justice" (to quote

Abraham De Leon)—shares a profound commonality with the concept of Democracy—it is possible to realize in practice, but only if people come to believe in its possibility, and, indeed, to accept nothing less. This understanding leads naturally to three simple things that anarchists should do today and moving forward:

Educate. Agitate. Inform.

If people are confused about their politico-economic interests, and if anarchism is widely maligned and misunderstood (it is, as all but the most ignorant are aware), then one of our immediate goals should be to shamelessly, courageously, and openly advocate for and defend anarchist thought while debunking our detractors and opponents. Op-Eds, articles, zines, books, press releases, letters to the editor, town-hall meetings, debates, community forums, movie screenings, seminars, freedom schools, street art, graffiti, guerrilla theater, fliering, bull horns—all of these tools should be employed by any serious anarchist movement. Of course, such propaganda will undoubtedly attract attention from the authorities, but such exposure may be the necessary price to pay for giving anarchist thought the wide audience it deserves. For



various reasons—legal, occupational, and otherwise—many among us will not be able to attract such exposure, and this limitation should be understood and accommodated by comrades in the movement. However, even the most security-conscious groups may get targeted by the state, and anarchists have been victimized for the most minimal of actions (See, for example, the article on the "Foxy 6" in this issue). Just as many heroic comrades did throughout the last two centuries, those of us who CAN speak out, MUST—unless we want anarchism to remain obscure and misunderstood.

Bring Our Anarchist Best to Local Struggles

Many anarchists talk about supporting local community struggles, but such support will be ineffective if we do not constantly infuse it with anarchist ethics and tactics. No doubt we must play our part in local struggles, giving, whenever possible, resources, money, labor, time, and moral support to local campaigns and struggles, including those against militarism, police brutality, the wars, foreclosures, privatization of public resources, and for immigrant rights, community control over community resources, local autonomy, and so on. However our participation in various movements and struggles must always promote, exemplify, and model anarchist methods and tactics, namely direct action, horizontalism, free and voluntary association, mutual aid, and parallel power. If we don't do so, our work will be indistinguishable from liberal reformism, and equally ineffective. Further, there is little sense in re-inventing the wheel by undertaking tasks that are already being tackled by NGOs and charity organizations (we could just join or support those groups instead) unless we utilize anarchist methods and showcase their superiority.

Work for the Best but Prepare for the Worst

In the coming years, as wealth is concentrated in ever-fewer hands (Marx's long-delayed immiseration scenario seemingly coming true), while continued environmental degradation leads to famines and resource wars, a rise of neo-fascist and radical-rightwing movements seems more and more likely (in fact, they *are* rising in many parts of the world—think Golden Dawn and Yisrael Beiteinu). Of course, it would be wonderful if worsening conditions led instead to a rise of Leftwing opposition, but historical memory does nothing to guarantee



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this outcome (consider, for example, the rise of global fascist movements during the Great Depression). And, as discussed above, the scarcity of class-consciousness and critical mindsets among the manipulated millions does not bode well for a global Leftist renaissance in the coming decade, all hopeful motion (Occupy, Zapatismo, the Arab Spring, the Indignados, the Bolivarian revolution) notwithstanding. On top of this, anarchism remains marginalized even in many spaces of resistance. With all of these sobering facts in mind, anarchists should calmly but determinedly make themselves ready for the worst-case scenario: violent purges by fascist movements. Self-defense tactics, including not only hand-to-hand, but also acquiring legal weapons and training in their use, should be standard practice among Leftwing radicals in general, not only anarchists. Such training, coupled with regular exercise and proper nutrition, will help make us fit and ready for even crazy contingencies (if you could stop a genocide by shooting the next Hitler, wouldn't it be your moral obligation to do so?). This is not a call to adventurist violence, nor is it a repudiation of pacifism (a topic which would require a much longer discussion). It is simply a call for those that are willing and able to mobilize for anarchist self-defense to do so—our enemies on the radical right do so assiduously already (who would win in a fight tomorrow, your local vegan anarchist collective or a band of heavily-armed, white-supremacist Patriot-movement thugs?).

These three suggestions for anarchist action in 2013 may seem bold, but we have to act now. Permanent war, total surveillance, environmental devastation, and universal commodification endanger and dehumanize us all. And as proven by the brutal crackdown on recent protest movements, including the peaceful and relatively innocuous Occupy, the state and its corporate masters have already decided the terms for us on Manichean lines: in the

fight for human freedom, the Rulers will not tolerate dissent. Whether we like it or not, it's Us vs. Them. Which side are you on?



("Project Quinn" continued from page 1)

Quinn, our beloved kitty, is dead, and placing blame won't fix that, but how many more beings are going through this exact same situation? Well we, Quinn's adoptive parents, aren't the kind to sit and mope. We talked to the anarchist collective that we belong to, the Free Association of Anarchists (F@@), who had already been helping to foster animals, and we collectively decided that it was time to take this project further.

Named after our departed baby, Project Quinn was born.



So what is Project Quinn? It is the F@@'s project to take tangible steps to alleviate the suffering of non-human beings. It is also the F@@'s hands-on direct action network to help people with any questions or



concerns about their pets. Think of the F@@ as your free information source for your furred and feathered (or even scaly) buddies. Not only does the F@@ offer free zines on first-aid for your animal



companions, but we also have info on shelters, low-cost vet clinics, ways to get involved, and a lot more. We hand-select this information to help elevate and empower the struggling animal lover.



We have a variety of ongoing projects within Project Quinn. For starters, we foster animals from the shelter and help to find them loving homes. So far, we have been successful with 14 adoptions. To the lucky animal-companion's parents, we provide a gift basket to help start their journey right. We go when we can to shelters and help in any way we can. We also work with other groups and individuals that wish to see an end to the constant mindless euthanizing happening in our Los Angeles shelters.

Los Angeles is growing fast with unwanted animal companions. Our shelters are euthanizing as needed to alleviate overcrowding. What is particularly ugly is that animal fostering and adoption profits the shelter, since they can charge an adoption fee, but the un-adopted animals are often euthanized, since they bring in no revenue. Animal Shelters aren't really sheltering homeless or lost animals. They are making profits off the bodies of the thousands that go through their doors.



Animals, just like people, are oppressed, exploited, and impoverished everyday under the authoritarian regimes of capital and the state. Through Project Quinn, we do our humble best to alleviate a small part of this problem by helping the community find new homes for animal companions that



they no longer can keep. Many of our animal companions become homeless or are lost in the struggle for survival in our oppressive society. We comfort people with the knowledge that even if they must leave their companions behind, these animals will be loved and cared for by someone else. We hope that with time, people might be able to foster newly-homeless animal companions while struggling pet owners make arrangements.



So far, the community response to our efforts has been very positive; many people have already expressed interest in working with us, and community members look to us for help and guidance in animal-related issues. However, it's hard to do everything that needs to be done since we are not a large group yet. If anyone would like to learn more or help out please contact <askprojectquinn@gmail.com> or <faacollective@gmail.com>, or follow us on Twitter at <https://twitter.com/ProjectQuinn_>

Informational article: <http://www.belladogmagazine.com/the-no-kill-movement/471-7-hard-learned-lessons-about-animal-shelters-euthanasia-and-the-no-kill-movement>



Mask of a Multitude:

Staging Anarchy in the City

By Pesky Artist

In a society of discipline and control, is it possible to perform acts of resistance and defiance that challenge the status quo? How is it that any group poor in resources, though perhaps rich in spirit, can grapple for power? In *The Practice of Everyday Life*, Michel de Certeau discusses the relationship between power and resistance by introducing his concepts of strategy and tactics. For de Certeau, institutions assert power strategically by relying on the physical presence and occupation of space. Institutional strategy therefore regulates the practices of subjects by controlling those structures within which we interact. Strategy is the exercise of power of the dominant. The weak, he contends, however, must utilize tactics to express constituent power. Where strategy relies on space to control time, tactics focus on

Opinion: Anarchists vs. Statists

By F@@ Contributor, 'Til Victory or Death

There is a difference between us anarchists and those vanguard-party state communists who advocate their transitional period (I will refer to these folks hereafter as “statists”). I would like to give the anarchist position on certain points which for a long time have been misrepresented by certain so-called comrades.

All points revolve around the topic of dual power/alternative institutions.

1) Anarchists think you can simply smash the state and then be free.

Simply put, yes we do. Now this is where the vultures jump in and try to distort our views. They seem to forget that we anarchists have always been advocates of dual power/alternative institutions.

We call on workers to build the new society in the shell of the old, by learning and practicing parallel power and self-management, so that a free communal society can rise directly out of a General Strike (or other unspecified revolutionary upheaval) without the need for intermediaries or transitional stages.

We call for building alternative institutions not only to disempower the state and empower the people, but also to put these self-sustaining institutions—created by the people to meet their needs—in place, and to keep them after we destroy the state.

2) What are these programs going to do for the revolution?

This practice of dual power can not be overlooked. It is funny how there are some who belittle Food Not Bombs, squatters, black blocs, and other instances of anarchistic resistance, then turn around and speak of how housing and food are human rights, and how the people shouldn't take shit from cops. If you present this contradiction to them, they give you a stupid look and say “it's true, you can read it in this or that book, but it doesn't say how to do it.” It is through the creation of these alternative institutions that we as a movement begin to build that genuine connection with the community. This is how anarchist principles and tactics will be embraced. Not through the studying of literature, not through a quest for power, but through direct actions to paint a more vibrant picture when we speak of anarchism.

3) Forget the people? Not Us!!

While we are in a never-ending campaign to create community programs that function and exist outside of the state, the statists are in a never-ending pursuit of state power. This leads us to take a more hands-on approach, and the statists to have a more armchair position.

Of course the statists argue that these programs do nothing for anyone and so instead waste time in their Machiavellian double dealings as they climb the ladder of political power, but the people in the communities are more in tune with their immediate needs at the moment. To do anything else but fight for the food



(“Mask of a Multitude” continued from page 3)

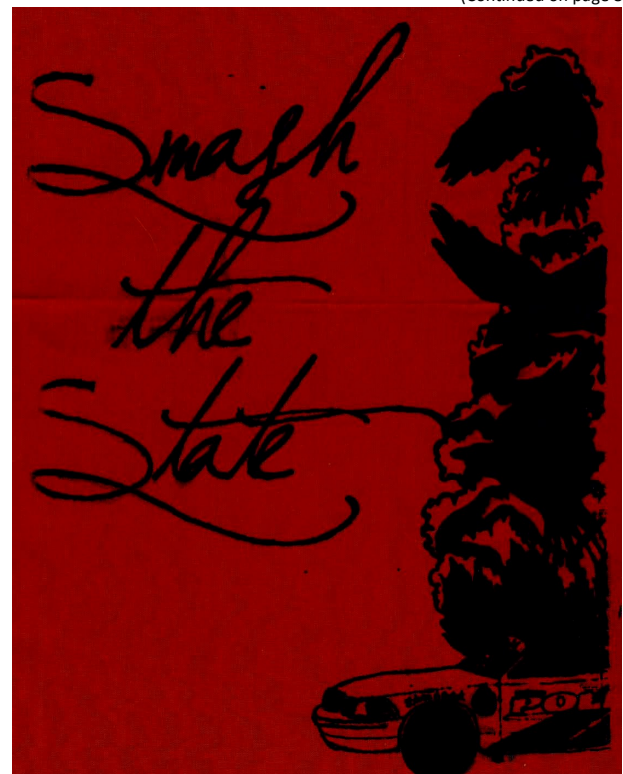
opportunistic moments in time to momentarily control space. While tactical power is ephemeral, it is afforded mobility and flexibility that strategic power lacks. de Certeau writes “The space of the tactic is the space of the other...What it wins it can not keep.” But what if the tactic does not set out to win or keep anything?

Among anarchist collectives the tactic of the Black Bloc has become a staple. A quick and dirty definition of “Black Bloc” would be a grouping of individuals masked in black, often carrying shields (though sometimes batons also) who march at the external margins of a larger marching population in order to insulate and protect the march through self-defense. By holding the front line, Black Bloc-ers confront police units who obstruct and control public space to suppress the mobility of the march, in order to stage a demonstration of State violence. This is an important distinction to make clear. A Black Bloc does not set out to deploy violence but rather to stage a performance of violence. As a performance, the Black Bloc tactic meets the State within the spectacle that Debord argues “presents itself as a vast inaccessible reality that can never be questioned. Its sole message is: ‘What appears is good; what is good appears’ The passive acceptance it demands is already effectively imposed by its monopoly of appearances, its manner of appearing without allowing any reply.” To question the State, the Bloc seeks to stage violence by wagering on the assumption that when the State is confronted by dissent, it will use force and intimidation to restore order. In other words, the State temporarily suspends rights to public space, to association, and to speech in order to enforce its authority—an authority that is instituted, maintained, and demonstrated through sanctioned acts of violence.

So why Black Bloc? I have introduced the tactic of Black Bloc as a way to discuss some of the larger aspirations and limitations of the politics of anarchism(s). First, the tactic represents a confrontational ethic necessary to any challenge of authority; this after all, is the goal tied to the etymology of anarchist politics, to be without rulers. However, the bloc, in my opinion, is symptomatic of a tactical inertia that limits the political/symbolic traction infecting some anarchist collectives. After reflecting on/reading through the significance of Bloc-ing, I will suggest an alternative means of staging defiance in this way.

To begin our inquiry into the Bloc, and by extension anarchism(s), we should consider the origin of their “otherness.” Taking Hegel's Master/Slave dialectic as a guide, otherness is manifest in the confrontation between anarchists and the State, or more specifically, the Black Bloc and the Police.

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that their family needs would be murder on their part. Not everyone is privileged enough to be able to resist at will, but by creating these programs maybe more beings will have that opportunity.

4) A world of many worlds!

We anarchists are all about individual and community self-empowerment, and so we try to play our humble role wherever there is resistance. Ideally, we try to act as humble servants to the people and to the cause, and not as some grandiose being with the key and program to everyone's liberation (that, in my opinion, is a statist's outlook). We do not need to sign every one to the anarchist model/label. We must, through our practice of anarchist principles, show beings what can be if we only practice the mutual aid that is inherent within our species.

As we are so diverse as a people, we understand that there can be no set model for all communities; that each, and all, will have to define the way that they organize to fulfill their everyday societal needs. However, there is no room for this kind of thinking among the statist, who will shoot you dead for second-guessing Marx, Lenin, or Trotsky.

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I hope this was helpful to some extent. We need to clear up some of the mess created by the statist and capitalist conspiracy against us anarchists. If possible, pass this along to any statist you may know. I do not think their party will allow them to read this, but at least we tried.

—'Til Victory or Death



Untitled Poem

The New World Order agenda has no concern for humanity

Exploitation from corporate companies

While the Bilderburg group runs the world in secrecy

Soldiers are their pawns, so why would I ever consider joining the military

If you see a recruiter, smash them losers, they deserve assault and battery

Bribing our people with benefits that should come to them naturally

Tricking them into signing their souls away, enlisting

Sacrificing your lives and your bodies

Taking M16s and killing innocent people in Middle Eastern countries

It doesn't take rocket scientists to figure out there are no terrorists, just think

A lot of these cops are X-M.P.

Come back from overseas

Enroll in the force and terrorize the streets

Reinforcing bullshit bills like SB1070

As in Phoenix A.Z. oppression n tyranny, 287G

Soon spill over invisible state borders into OUR city, into YOUR city!

How many times is the sleeping giant gonna wake n THEN fall back to sleep?!

Fuck the military and the police

War going on here in the belly of the beast

Whose streets? OUR streets!!! No justice, no peace

Fighting for liberation till we're deceased

Till the casket drops 6 feet deep

Starching up my khakis, cuff n a crease

Bootleg Chuckies and tall black tees

Fuck hipsters and skinny jeans

And these kids wit spikey hair who don't know what they wanna be

That don't care, wit no ambition and no dreams,

Who stay in doors all day play Xbox and watch Jersey Shore on TV

And to all those who turn their heads and pretend shit's just not happening

Nowadays apparently all these peewees

Just don't give a fuck about their own communities

If you're not part of the solution then you're part of the problem, I guess we are just our own worse enemies

Consumers more worried about their Gucci purses and neon-colored Nikes

While the rest of us have other priorities

I'm sick of these activists on campus who forget their people once they get a fancy degree

Nothing but sellouts that integrate into white American society

Trying to be patient with all these coconuts and preppies

Who wear Aeropostale and Abercrombie

Flippin' the script joining frats and sororities

Betraying us all, gone and turned Greek.

Almost a lost cause if you ask me

I have no idea how those who have been sheltered can be reached

But I do understand that they are having difficulties understanding

And just forget about filling out a petition or lobbying

To all these politicians pretending to listen, giving your testimonies

While nodding their heads with false interest

"But sir I even reside in your district"

Fake smiles insulting our intelligence

(Continued on page 6...)

The 'Foxy 6' Go to Trial

On Nov. 14th 2012 in Pasadena, a group of six was arrested while passing out fliers describing the Human Rights abuses committed against indigenous communities by ex-Mexican President Vicente Fox, who was speaking at a "distinguished speaker series." During the event, protestors outside were attacked by police. During the attack, 6 protestors were arrested and falsely given charges such as: "inciting a riot," "resisting arrest," and "assault on an officer." These six comrades are affectionately referred to as the "Foxy 6."

It all started with a small group of activists gathering to pass out some fliers inviting people to a screening about the Zapatista struggle (which you should watch: <http://endofcapitalism.com/2007/11/02/zapatista/>). By the time we had arrived downtown, the Los Angeles Police Department had already informed the Pasadena Police Department's Counter Terrorism Unit that a group known to be "aggressive toward law enforcement" were on their way to Pasadena. All of the police reports later described the crowd as "Anarchists."



Before anyone had passed out a single flier or shouted a single chant, the police had already ejected the first handful of protesters to show up from the public sidewalk in front of the Civic Auditorium. With a last-minute permit from the Auditorium backing them up, they claimed that

only ticketed guests could be on the sidewalk. What this meant in practice was that anyone could do anything they pleased on the sidewalk as long as the police didn't think that they were part of the group of protesters. Anyone who the police identified as being with the protesters would be threatened with arrest if they approached too close to the auditorium, while those who looked like they belonged in the Pasadena's wealthy and white downtown (including those who actually were protesters) went unquestioned.

Soon after Fox's speech began the police made their first arrest. While stopping a group of protesters who were trying to walk back to the designated protest area on the opposite side of the street, the police waved through a white female who was part of the group. Soon, realizing their mistake, she was handcuffed and arrested. Sergeant Bobby Crees then began following one comrade who was trying to return to the main group after their attempt to reach the crosswalk was blocked. Supposedly with the intent to ticket him for jaywalking, the cop, along with backup, followed him and began to assault protesters who were "in the way," leading to bloodied lips, bruises and trauma. Four protesters were arrested on the street opposite the auditorium and a sixth comrade was targeted for arrest later that night while sitting at a bus stop.

Through the arraignment and pretrial, the cops have repeatedly attempted to use the political beliefs of these comrades to keep them in jail and incriminate them in the mind of the judge. The cops even wrote a specific detainment request to quadruple the bail of one comrade from \$25,000 to \$100,000 because he was a "self-proclaimed anarchist" with a "disdain for Western capitalism" and would "return

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("Untitled Poem" continued from page 5)

And nothing but a bunch of phonies

How bout these wanna be revolutionaries

Who wear CAMOUFLAGE all the time, really?

Is all that necessary, you forget we're in an urban setting??

Getting into character for events? Please!

Just because you dress it don't mean you act it and special handshakes don't mean you're ready

Mad at me because what I speak, threatens your comfortability

I don't know what you're in the game for homie but this here ain't a hobby

And watch out for gossipers who are compulsive disrupters in the movement spreading rumors like a disease

Either their big time haters or infiltrators in the scene wrongfully bad jacketing

SO BELIEVE NOTHING OF WHAT YOU HEAR, AND HALF OF WHAT YOU SEE

Even all these hustlers and all these G's....With plots and schemes

Caught up in the game of illegit capitalism like mice in a cage chasing cheese

Slaves to the system and bills to pay, I know...we all got mouths to feed

While turning our brothas n sistas into fiends,

Epidemics of heroin n methamphetamines

Low-key slangin for the FBI or Central Intelligence Agency

Like how freeway Ricky Ross did all thru out the 80's

Thats how crack cocaine infected tha hood. But hey! We all gotta make that cream!

Right ?! So how can WE, really care bout our families

Children being taken into the

system's custody

Group home to group home growing up in Juvie

While we're hemmed up sitting in cells of penitentiaries

As robots and puppets following routines, dehumanizing

By then baby's mamas moving on making new memories

Getting out and can't even function properly

We'd be lucky working minimum wage in some jank-ass factory

Background checks, hoping they don't find our felonies

Burning stomach, HUNGRY, nothing to eat

No money, no heat, freezing and shivering

No electricity, in the dark, candle light flickering

Maybe we should steal from the rich and give to those in poverty

Thoughts are having me, fight back the urge of committing robberies

Wonder WHY, we stressed out popping E and smoking weed

Liquor stores on every corner so conveniently

Got us dedicating to our homies that passed, spilling out on the grass the last of the Old E

While searching for revenge and beef with no mercy, theses streets is thirsty, blood on the concrete

In the back of the classroom another empty seat

Letting them instigate between us and fall for their trickery

Feuding amongst ourselves, pulling gages, crossing out and bickering

Products of the environment resulting from police brutality

So fuck turning the other cheek. Perhaps things needs to pop off again like Florence and Normandie

Frustrated! But I have every right to be

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to disrupt the business of the Pasadena Police Department." The judge agreed to double the bail, citing other protesting charges from May 1st as his reasoning. Throughout the process, we have bailed out two of our comrades. One, Alex Torres, was not granted any reduction in bail and we are currently raising funds for his bail remainder and legal costs for the group. If you can contribute, well, that would be great!:

<https://www.wepay.com/donations/979829063>

Solidarity!—Foxy 6 Support Team Member

("Untitled Poem" continued from page 6)

I'm just speaking from the heart though. Can anybody hear me?

Is anyone out there actually listening? Feeling this energy

Of a melody suffering from genocide gone without noticing.

Survivalist mentality, we don't need no sympathy

Are you reaching for the stars or you reaching for the ceiling ?

Homegirl once told me caring too much can be a poison, which is interesting

Alls I know is that I do and even though the burden is heavy, I still believe

Giving up, throwing in the towel can't be found in my vocabulary

Crying out for a dream, Temezcalli sweatlodge ceremonies

Meditating that we all get through this shit safely

We ALL have a role to play and over time been subconsciously gathering

Creating direct actions like the EZLN and living collectively

Re-organizing the hood and researching our OWN history

Our people been resisting for more than 5 centuries

Refusing to vanish, we won't be defeated that easily

Unplugging out the matrix and DE-COLONIZING

So cease to be sheep, represent by example cuz talk is cheap

Remembering those who fought and died at Wounded Knee

1890 and 1973

There's no rewind, so seize the time!! It's OUR responsibility

7th direction of looking within, give yourself the authority

To get rid of authority !

And FYI for what its worth, Anarchy

Does not mean chaos, it means no hierarchy, no masters no kings

Boycott Coca Cola, Starbucks and McD's. Stop poisoning our bodies,

Urban gardening like South Central farms, let's eat healthy!

Creating positive opportunities

Like Building our OWN schools like D.Q.University

Survival training in every attribute and category

So what will it be? If you're down for justice then ride with us, mobbin' deep in a cutlass, Homies turning revolutionary

Forming bridges and teams of solidarity

Together with black and Brown unity, we hold the key, and the remedy

To these punk-ass pigs pulling us over at will randomly



Constantly harassing, interrogating, deporting and threatening

That get a slap on the hand and paid vacation for murdering

I don't wanna be just another statistic or a casualty,

And what's with all these GANG injunctions?? I'm a HUMAN BEING!!!

Always running, feel like I'm in slow motion, I just wanna breath

ENOUGH IS ENOUGH!! Just cuz they wear a badge don't mean they can't bleed

We need to stand up for ourselves by any means

For generations to come planting rebel seeds

Helping them grow with our words and our deeds

Passing on our spirit watching them succeed

Obligated for our ancestors that fought and through Destiny

Warriors traditionally fulfilling prophecies

I can hear the sound of the concha now calling

The drums of the people, Mother Earth's heart beating

Father sky above smiling. The wind whispering Meshika Tiawi

AR15's, loading magazines, armed to the teeth

No surrender, no retreat, homie wuchoo think ?

When we play....we playing 4 keeps

Perhaps one day we'll live in a world where our kids can see

A life worth living and all of its beauty

And know what it is like to REALLY be free

Dedicated to Oscar Grant, rest in peace

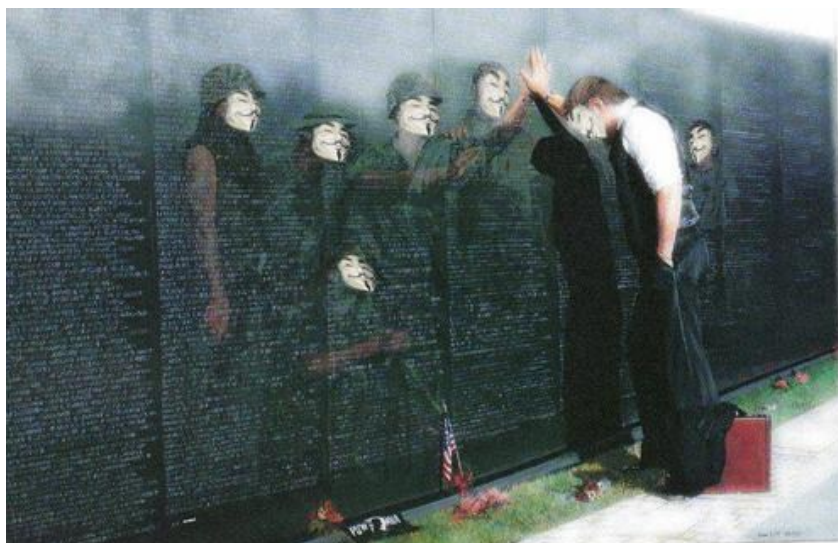
And all those who have been murdered by this fascist fake democracy

If we ALL put in the effort, dreams can be reality

All power through the people!!! ALL POWER! Struggle continues till victory!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!! —Tekpamalinaly '10

During this confrontation the reaction of the police, hostile suppression, demonstrates the arbitrariness present in any contract between the State and those it represents by acting on behalf of the People against a people no longer recognized as such. In other words, the Bloc is excluded, no longer identified as the acceptable makeup of the body politic. They are free radicals.

In this initial contact, we witness major critiques of the liberal tradition insofar as it limits itself to a delineation between The State and The People on whose behalf the state operates. In contrast to the State, the Bloc, as a divided remainder of the People, is a manifestation of a Multitude. The clash between the police and the Bloc can be read as the differentiation between The People and The Multitude. Where "the people" indicates a represented unity forged by the State, a "multitude" by Hardt and Negri's estimate is a multiplicity of singularities uninterested in coalescence with the State. Or as Virno's reading of Hobbes states, the multitude exists prior to the unification of a state. However, once the state unifies, the multitude comprises a remainder that can never fully be summed into the people. To quote Virno from the *Grammar of the Multitude*, "it [the multitude] is the debris which sometimes jams the big machine." Here we see a point of unity between anarchism(s) and a theory of the multitude which deploys tactics in order to achieve what David Graeber argues for as goals of "exposing, de-legitimizing, and dismantling mechanisms of rule."



Furthermore, the Bloc symbolizes a breach in the state boundary as a multitude permeates through the midst of a city re-appropriating space in its own way. The Bloc becomes a pervasive borderland challenging the coherence of state space, a temporary autonomous zone opened at the eye of a storm. By wearing black they are a physical representation of political antagonism. If white is symbolic of peace and surrender, as in a white flag, then black indicates continued defiance. If white symbolizes a reflection of the desire of the Law, then black is the denial of any such reflection. It is an absorption of the gaze. The collective black mask represents a refusal to signify, to make oneself knowable. This collective opacity refuses to play by the traditional liberal rules valuing political transparency and exposure in public—an exposure which leaves the dissident in handcuffs. At least this would be the political/symbolic/theoretical motivation for anarchism(s) to become post-hegemonic, that is, to reject any reconciliation with a unified State or People.

However, I find the Black Bloc as commonly practiced limiting due to its interaction with the State. Assuming that Foucault is correct in arguing that Power/Resistance always exist in tandem, then the only tactics which challenge power are those that confuse it temporarily. By this estimate, an annual Black Bloc every May Day is reduced to an expectation at best, but more likely it is just a concession made within the hegemonic game. By chanting as they march or yelling at the police, I argue, the Bloc has failed to move beyond the politics of hegemony. To vocalize their grievances they have fallen into the trap of a politics of recognition by stating "grant us this and we will surrender." A politics of recognition reproduces the logic of hegemony by providing a concession that if granted will facilitate consent. Why wear black? Why maintain opacity if one wants to be granted recognition? Herein lies the paradox of the Black Bloc tactic: It renounces recognition while forgetting that it is a performance that requires an audience to recognize it. If they deny visibility, how could they deny vocality afterward? What choice do they have?



**AGAINST ALL AUTHORITY
ANARCHISM**

If you would like to subscribe to the Bl@ck Flag, please email the Free Association of Anarchists (F@A) at faacollective@gmail.com

In *The Fragile Absolute*, Slavoj Žižek maintains that "when confronted by a situation of forced choice, the subject makes the crazy choice, striking at himself, at what is most precious to himself... By cutting himself loose from the precious object through whose possession the enemy kept him in check, the subject gains the space of free action."

With this in mind, in order to maintain the power potentialized in a multitude engaged in Black Bloc tactics, I will advance the suggestion of a silent march. As a multiplicity of singularities marching against State unity, there is nothing to be requested. Silence is a rejection of any simple negotiation of rights. Silence stages an unsettling confusion. Silence provokes questions. Who are they? What do they want? Why are they doing this? Questions posed to which no reply is given. The anarchist propaganda collective known as Crimethink asserts that it is the project of anarchism to pose questions. "If the hallmark of ideology is that it begins from an answer...then one way to resist ideology is to start from questions rather than answers. That is to say—when we intervene in social conflicts, doing so in order to *assert* questions rather than conclusions...The term anarchy is itself useful not because it is an answer, but because it is a question." Marching as a multitude of potentiality, a collective embodiment of power rather than strength, a Black Bloc can stage defiance by reframing the spectacle of State authority. Rather than challenging the State monopoly on violence, a tactic which poses no real threat to the strategic superiority of the state, the Silent Bloc challenges a state monopoly on inscrutability.

To return to the Master/Slave parable, when the people meet the multitude on the road, who will defer to whom? If deference means recognition at the expense of enslavement, the multitude must pass in silence, for their existence precedes authority. In this way, the Bloc becomes the debris that can irritate the state. —Pesky Artist

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<http://theanarchistassociation.wordpress.com/2013/02/02/maskofmultitude/>